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# Venture

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## Comment

Incorporating Empire

### **AN INDEPENDENT SUDAN?**

IT is unfortunate that Egypt should have dragged the Sudan into the Anglo-Egyptian controversy on the Suez Canal zone. While undoubtedly the two questions are strategically linked, morally they are quite distinct. Egypt, in fact, has precisely the same claim as Britain to be in the Sudan—the claim of joint conquest and the Condominium Agreement of 1899. But whereas Britain has formally renounced this claim, established a Legislative Assembly and a ministry in which elected Sudanese play their part, and set up a constitutional committee to make proposals for a self-governing constitution, the Egyptians have proclaimed King Farouk King of the Sudan and proposed a constitution without consulting the Sudanese. It is hardly surprising that nearly all the Sudanese leaders have recoiled from this one-sided Egyptian embrace. But that does not make their position easy. A plebiscite under UNO auspices has been suggested and has been blessed by Mr. Trygve Lie. But even if that should prove to be practicable, how will it help? Who will make any expression of Sudanese opinion effective? The Egyptians? That seems hardly likely. Britain? In that case, we are back to where we now stand. The United Nations? The case of Somaliland suggests some difficulties. The Sudanese? That is the answer. It is obvious that no-one but the Sudanese can make the Sudan self-governing. Only they can settle their internal problems, and only they can carry the burden of power once they have won it. Egypt's bombshell may in the end prove beneficial if it speeds up the work of constitution-making and political organisation.

Nevertheless, the international implications cannot be ignored. It is to the benefit of both Egypt and the Sudan that the conception of a unified Nile Valley should be retained, for wherever

political boundaries may be drawn, the Nile waters will flow across them. This consideration applies also to the Sudan's own division between the north and the south. A constructive approach on these lines has already been pursued by Britain. The United Nations might help to make conciliation possible. But the entanglement of the problem with that of the defence of the Canal can only place the Sudanese at the mercy of the divisions which beset the rest of the world as well as the Nile Valley.

### **BRITISH GUIANA'S CONSTITUTION**

IF British Guiana accepts the Report of the Waddington Commission<sup>1</sup> it will be a matter of constitutional nicety to decide whether Jamaica, Barbados or Guiana is nearest to self-government. The Commission, which consisted of Sir John Waddington, Professor Vincent Harlow and Dr. Rita Hinden, refused to be diverted by British Guiana's inter-racial difficulties from recommending a major step forward. 'Proposals which do not match the stature of the community can be as harmful as those which place an unreasonable load upon untried legislators,' they commented. Accordingly, they proposed universal adult suffrage, without the literacy tests which have in the past militated against full representation for the East Indian community, and without communal electorates. This provision, though greeted with misgiving by *The Times*, has received well-argued support elsewhere<sup>2</sup> and is in accordance with West Indian tradition. That it was not conceived in a vacuum is shown by the recommendations for representation of the interests of the

<sup>1</sup> Report of the Constitutional Commission, Colonial No. 280. H.M. Stationery Office.

<sup>2</sup> See page 9.

Amerindians, which are intended to be temporary measures for as long as the Amerindians are in need of special protection. In its desire to see British Guiana develop as a united country, the Commission even went so far as to suggest consideration of the possibility of treating a reference to a candidate's race as an electoral offence—a suggestion which has, however, been rejected by the Secretary of State as impracticable.

The controversial section of the Report is to be found in its discussion of the merits of single-chamber or double-chamber legislatures. In order to avoid the inclusion of nominated members in the elective house, the Secretary of State has given his support to the proposal for two chambers. This would mean that the lower house would consist of 24 elected and three ex-officio members, and would control policy, while an upper house with a nominated majority acted as a revisionary chamber. 'This type of constitution,' says the Secretary of State in his despatch, 'will inevitably throw a greater responsibility on the elected members than a single chamber with nominated members.' Those who have criticised this provision appear to reject altogether the conception of any checks in the constitution at all. Their view is arguable. We would only point out that it is one which we in this country have never adopted for ourselves.

In the Executive Council, which it is suggested should revert to its old name of Court of Policy, it is proposed that there should be six elected members chosen by ballot, three ex-officio members in addition to the Governor, and one member of the upper house elected by his colleagues to serve as Minister without portfolio. The ministers thus chosen would be individually responsible for their departments. A similar system is apparently working well in the Gold Coast. That it has not worked so well in Jamaica has been due as much to the disastrous failure of the elected members led by Mr. Bustamante as to the weakness in the constitution itself. All told, therefore, the Waddington Report gives British Guiana a fair chance. If its politicians can avoid the pitfall of splinter parties (which Trinidad, with a less satisfactory constitution, has not avoided), there will be an opportunity for rapid political progress and for a positive attack on the economic problems which beset the country.

## DISASTER IN MALAYA

THE new outburst of terrorism in Malaya—and particularly the tragic loss of Sir Henry Gurney—has gone far to undo the patient work of nation-building to which Sir Henry Gurney had

set his hand. Never has it been so clearly demonstrated that this work cannot be carried on successfully while he Emergency continues. Not only is the civilian population being terrorised—to the extent that in Negri Sembilan, it was reported on November 13, 7,000 rubber workers on 16 estates were afraid to go to work—but official statements on the prospects of ending the campaign have been falsified. A spokesman of the Director of Operations staff stated in September that information supplied by the public was increasing, and referred to the 'improved situation in Johore,' where 'bandits had shown very little desire to come to grips with security forces.' Yet on the same day in Johore, a re-settlement camp which had received financial support from the Malayan Chinese Association was attacked, four settlers being killed and 34 young men abducted. Five days later a motion expressing 'grave concern' at slow progress and at constant changes in the directional control of operations was defeated in Legislative Council after it had been described by Sir Henry Gurney 'as tantamount to a motion of no confidence in the Federation Government.'

Yet it is clear that some criticism of the Government should be taken to heart. Alarm at police methods has in many cases been proved to be unfounded, but even the local correspondent of *The Times* has reported that 'many policemen, including European officers, have a brusqueness which does not help to gain local confidence,' and referred to 'an official state of mind which can only be described as colonial exclusiveness and a reluctance to follow the new political approach.' (8.11.1951). This approach needs more than Government announcements. It requires an enthusiastic drive at all levels to make it a success. Data Onn, who has staked his political career on his attempt to unite the various communities in the Independence for Malaya Party and to raise the standard of living of the people, has had hard words to say about the failure of both the Federal and the State Governments to grasp the opportunities presented by the establishment of the Rural and Industrial Development Authority. Such unquestioned authorities as Dr. Victor Purcell and Mr. E. D. Shearn have raised a second major issue in urging that every effort must be made to regain the confidence of the law-abiding Chinese. Surely it is now time that they were brought into the Civil Service in larger numbers, and that decisive steps were taken on the question of citizenship.

A major effort is required, not only from the Government, but from the people themselves. The basic problem of national cohesion cannot

be solved as long as large numbers of Chinese adopt a neutral attitude and many Malays are isolationist. Mr. Lyttelton is shortly to visit Malaya, a new Director of Operations has taken over, and there must soon be a new High Commissioner. But whatever decisions may be taken at the highest level, nothing can be done unless the leaders of the people are fully associated with the anti-bandit campaign—and unless the people respond to the call of those who are warning them that their chance of political and economic security in their own country will pass them by if they are not prepared to work and fight for it.

### THE FESTIVAL SPIRIT

NEXT year, 1952, is to see an outburst of the festival spirit on a large scale in many Colonies. Probably the grandest function will be the Caribbean Festival of Arts and Music, which is expected to cost \$60,000 and will be held in Puerto Rico, but this is a tourist attraction. Of greater cultural significance are the plans for an African Eisteddfod in Southern Rhodesia, planned

by the 'Little Theatre,' which interests itself in theatrical talent amongst all the races. There are to be choirs, bands, dancing (tribal and European), drama, verse-speaking, public-speaking, embroidery and needlework, a literary competition in English and African languages, and photography. Kenya has already held two music festivals this year. One, the Kenya Music Festival, produced prize-winners from all races. The second, held by the Nyanza Musical Society, attracted between two and three thousand people. Next year, if all goes well, the grandest effort of all is to come from the Gold Coast in July. It aims 'to tap hidden talents . . . to encourage the different localities in the Gold Coast and Togoland to express their individuality, culture, and contribute to the nation's cultural life and to the world's civilisation.' There are to be all kinds of choral contests, dance-bands and orchestras, ballroom dancing, African dances and drum orchestras, campfire entertainment from youth clubs, and new plays and musical compositions by African writers and composers. If these welcome activities go on, the Welsh and Mr. Herbert Morrison will have to look to their laurels.

## THE TORIES

THERE was little in the new Secretary of State's pronouncement in the House of Commons (14.11.1951) to indicate a change in colonial policy now that the Tories have taken over. Two aims, said Mr. Lyttelton, were 'accepted by all sections of the House as being above Party politics:

'first, we all aim at helping the colonial territories to attain self-government within the British Commonwealth. To that end we are seeking as rapidly as possible to build up in each territory the institutions which its circumstances require. Second, we are all determined to pursue the economic and social development of the colonial territories so that it keeps pace with their political development . . . We desire to see successful constitutional development both in those territories which are less advanced towards self-government and in those with more advanced constitutions. His Majesty's Government will do their utmost to help colonial governments and Legislatures to foster the health, wealth and happiness of the colonial peoples.'

Asked by Mr. James Griffiths to make it clear that self-government 'must include participation of all the people in these territories, irrespective of race, creed or colour,' Mr. Lyttelton replied, 'I think that in general terms I can accept what the Right Hon. Gentleman says.' This statement and Mr. Lyttelton's statements at his press conference

## TAKE OVER

on November 7 were not very illuminating. It is perfectly true that all British parties are committed to the policy which he outlined. What is less certain is the Conservative attitude towards the building up of the political and economic organisations in the Colonies which can alone give them the strength to take over power.

Mr. Lyttelton comes from the ranks of big business, whose interests his Party exists to defend. What will be the attitude of the present British Government towards the colonial trade unions? How far is economic development to be carried out by private enterprise? What support is to be given to colonial co-operatives, to the marketing boards, and to the Colonial Development Corporation and the local corporations at work in a number of colonial territories? At his press conference, Mr. Lyttelton said he was certain that it is impossible 'to get healthy industry without strong trade unions,' but he was careful to say that he was referring to this country. On the Colonial Development Corporation, he saw 'more or less eye to eye with Lord Reith.' But he gave no details. In regard to constitutional change, the Conservatives were 'very progressive people,' he said, and he gave the guarantee that, although

he would express no views on any constitutional changes now pending, there would be no going back on what had already been done. Those who can bring themselves to forget the Conservative record in regard to constitutional change in India must nevertheless have some misgivings.

The chief danger point is East and Central Africa, where the changes to be worked out next year will decide whether or not a policy of partnership between the races is to be effective. The reaction of settler interests to the Conservative victory has been one of hope that their sectional claims will receive more sympathy than was accorded them by the Labour Government. The disagreement at Victoria Falls has brought forth some interesting statements. The general line appears to be that it was all the fault of Mr. Griffiths. Mr. Stockil, leader of the Southern Rhodesian Opposition, has accused Mr. Griffiths of 'bungling the Conference by his negotiations with Africans in Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland.' Mr. Welensky, who thinks the Conservatives 'would be more forthright and take a more realistic view,' said that 'Britain had not given a lead to the Africans.' Sir Godfrey Huggins, Prime Minister of Southern Rhodesia, has spoken with even more appalling frankness. 'We knew we would be disappointed because of the mismanagement of the affair by the United Kingdom Government,' Sir Godfrey said, 'I doubt whether you could kick them into giving a lead in anything while they remain so afraid of the ballot-box at home. The Victoria Falls Conference developed into a sort of mothers' meeting at which we tried to see how the Native delegates could be placated.' Whether or not Mr. Lyttelton has been more responsive to kicking than Mr. Griffiths we do not know, but on November 21 he gave his lead in support of federation, trusting that 'in the light of the assurances agreed upon at the Victoria Falls Conference... Africans will be prepared to accept' the Report of the officials' conference. But the only glimmer of acceptance at Victoria Falls was the Northern Rhodesian Africans' statement that they would be prepared to consider the officials' proposals if the principle of partnership were defined and implemented in Northern Rhodesia itself. On partnership Mr. Lyttelton gave no lead. He could only say that 'discussions... will shortly be taken place.' But Sir Godfrey Huggins had again given a lead of his own, by announcing that 'it had been arranged' that he should come to London to discuss the constitu-

tional future of Central Africa. Pressed by Mr. Griffiths to say whether this meant that discussions were to take place in the absence of African representatives, Mr. Lyttelton merely stalled. This seems to us—and will no doubt seem to Africans—the worst possible way of embarking on partnership in Central Africa.

The same issue arises in Tanganyika, but here the outlook is more hopeful. The Tanganyika European Council's resolutions against equal representation of Europeans, Africans and Asians in the Legislative Council<sup>2</sup> have been disowned by European speakers in the Legislative Council's discussion on the Report of the Constitutional Committee, which recommended parity. Brigadier Scupham, while upholding the 'supreme importance of European leadership,' appealed to Europeans to 'distinguish between leadership and domination by one race over another,' while Mr. C. Mathew, Chairman of the Constitutional Committee, denied that Africans were unfit to vote, argued that throughout the world there were many able statesmen who had not had the benefit of a formal education, adding, 'The only way to learn to play the flute is to play the flute.' Nobody suggests that the proposal for parity of representation is perfect. But it is clearly the only fair temporary solution which stands a chance of acceptance. It remains also to work out the implementation of the principle by devising a system or systems of election, which the constitutional report does not take within its scope. It would be tragic if increased pressure from a section of the population succeeded in convincing Mr. Lyttelton that the Report should be dropped.

The third danger-point is, of course, Malaya. The strongest representations have been made by business interests in London that the Emergency must be suppressed as soon as possible. No-one would disagree with this, but it is essential that the progressive political policy initiated by the Labour Government should at the same time be carried out and strengthened. We are under no illusion that this will win over the bandits, who are, as we said in September, fighting not for a programme, but for power, but it could have a marked effect on the attitude of the general population. It is precisely at this political point that the Conservative critics of the Labour Government have during the last six years shown least sympathy. The new Secretary of State will undoubtedly be subject to strong pressure to reject the political approach as idealistic. If he does so, the only possible result can be chaos.

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<sup>1</sup> See *Closer Association in Central Africa: Statement by H.M. Government in the U.K.* Cmd. 8411.

<sup>2</sup> See page 9.

# WHAT IS PARTNERSHIP?

At the Victoria Falls Conference on Central African Federation, the Northern Rhodesian African representatives stated that 'Africans would be willing to consider the question of federation on the basis of the Report of the London Conference of officials after the policy of partnership in Northern Rhodesia had been defined, and as so defined put into progressive operation.' The following statement, contributed by a member of the Bureau, is an attempt to suggest a definition of partnership which might form the basis of negotiation. Other contributions on this subject are invited.

## The Franchise

WHILE it may be accepted that the right to vote on the common voters' roll of the Partnership State may be extended to some persons or classes of persons before it is extended to others, it shall be agreed that all adult persons with the status of British subject or British protected person have an ultimate equal right to such a vote, and it shall be agreed that no legislation shall be passed making it more difficult for any person or class of persons to qualify for a vote on the common electoral roll.

That consideration should be given to methods of election to the African Representative Council which, whether direct or indirect, should ensure to all Africans not registered on the common voters' roll the opportunity to cast a secret vote. If an indirect method of election is chosen consideration should be given to the possibility of establishing direct election for at least a quarter of the seats.

## The Legislative Council

UNTIL such time as the number of African voters on the common roll shall equal half the number of registered voters, no constitutional arrangement shall be acceptable which gives to Africans less than half the unofficial representation on the Legislative Council.

That the proportion of official members of the Legislative Council shall not be reduced for at least five years, and thereafter only by agreement of two-thirds of the unofficial members of Legislative Council.

## The Executive Council

THAT an African unofficial should be chosen by the African Members of Legislative Council to serve on the Executive Council.

## Local Government

PARTICIPATION in local government in townships shall not be denied to any class of person on the grounds that they do not pay direct rates. Qualification to participate shall be based on the fact of occupation of a premises in the Local Government area, and participation on terms of equality of all occupiers shall be the accepted ultimate aim of all legislation.

## Status

EUROPEANS, Africans and members of other races, shall be colleagues and equal in status when they serve on official Committees, Councils and Associations.

## Skilled Work

THE advancement of any race in industry and all other walks of life to positions in which greater skill is required and greater responsibility accepted shall be

welcomed, and any obstruction in the way of such advance on the grounds of race shall have no validity in law, and any agreement embodying any limitation of any such advance shall be held invalid in law.

While it shall be accepted that persons with knowledge, skill, experience or special ability shall have a greater share in the benefits accruing from any enterprise than those without such knowledge, skill, etc., and while it shall be admitted that the present standards of living of the different races make the cost of essential needs and the necessary minimum wages of Europeans more than those of Africans and other races, it shall be agreed that the policy of the Partnership State shall be directed towards lessening these differences and no arrangement or action for perpetuating the difference between the partners shall be accepted or shall have the force of law.

## Contribution to the Country

IT shall be agreed that unskilled labour put into any project by any person shall entitle him to part of the honour and credit for the achievement comparable with, though not necessarily equal to, the honour and credit due to the skilled worker, the organiser, the inventor, the technician, or the owner of the capital invested in the project, and it shall not be accepted that the development of the country is due only to one race, but it shall be agreed that all races have a right to a part in the Government of the country in its developed state.

## Fundamental Rights

AN agreed statement of fundamental rights shall be drawn up and embodied in the constitution. This should include such declarations as the following:—

(a) It shall be an offence for any person to exclude or attempt to exclude or make or place notices or marks with the intention of excluding any person, on the grounds of his race, from any vehicle, aircraft, place, premises, enclosure or demarcated space open to the public or from any part thereof. It shall be an offence for any person whose normal work it is to comply with the needs or requests of any member of the public unnecessarily and unreasonably to delay or to refuse to comply with the needs or requests of any member of the public on the grounds of his race.

(b) In all consultations the benefit or disadvantage accruing to a member of any race from any proposed action or from any happening shall be considered as equal in importance to the benefit or disadvantage accruing to a member of any other race.

Alleged infringement of these fundamental rights may be actionable at law.

# ATTITUDE

**Attitude to Africa**, published by Penguin Books (2s.), is written by Professor Lewis. It is 'a survey of the main problems of British Africa, suggesting the lines of principle of "equal rights for all civilised men" the authors add the rider "which must be enforced by a British Government—it must be developed by the peoples of Africa at present resident in this country, to comment on the book. Mr. Hughes and Mr. Nyerere an African student from Tanganyika. Their views are printed below.'

## \* KENYA

**T**HIS survey, which it is hoped will reach the large audience it deserves, particularly at this time when colonial affairs appear to be building up to a climax, opens with a review of the present situation and a basis for a policy. It bears a great deal of study and shows an appreciation of the realities of the problems which are to be found in Africa to-day. Wisely the authors attach the greatest importance to the pressing problems of plural societies, but add that this problem can be brought home to the Englishman as never before, for he himself has become a citizen of a world-wide plural society, the British Commonwealth. The difference between living in a world-wide plural group and a mixed society in which the components are in daily contact with one another is important and alters one's appreciation of the problem.

In current discussion of these problems there appears to be some divergence of opinion as to the validity of the word 'race,' some holding that there is no such thing, and others, including the authors of *Attitude to Africa*, believing, realistically, that there are in fact differing racial characteristics between groups of human-beings, other than that of skin pigmentation. In saying that, I do not wish to imply that collaboration and harmony between them are impossible. The authors state with some truth that in considering the aptitude of the African for immediate self-government a fact to be considered is that, in comparison with those countries which have recently achieved this, the African people have produced very little of what can be called civilisation, except where there has been Islamic influence from the north. Nevertheless, the African has his own unique contribution to make to a partnership between the two races, though some might describe it as a negative one, in that western civilisation could benefit from an injection of the African's relaxed attitude to life. His ability to appreciate the value of dancing and mime and sitting in the sun, which pastimes, though they can be, and are, carried too far, compares very favourably with the turmoil and scramble to better the man next door which characterise western civilisation.

Professor Lewis's policy for colonial agriculture contains the real meat of this book. His argument that £100m. should be invested annually in colonial agriculture speaks for itself, but one danger in huge capital grants to Colonies with comparatively small national incomes is the problem of maintenance in later years. This can be offset by ensuring that a sufficiently large proportion of this capital is set aside in a sinking fund to cover such maintenance, which may otherwise be a weight too heavy for growing industries to bear. The crying need for greater agricultural education is all too

obvious, and one must hope that Professor Lewis's contribution will perhaps produce some movement in this direction by the Governments concerned.

The section dealing with Southern Africa seems to show rather less realism than the average, and in its latter half degenerates into stepping stones of quotations from various authorities, all apparently making the same points, though the phrasing differs. One feels that cogent argument carries more weight.

*Richard Hughes.*

## \* TANGANYIKA

**A**T this time when the British Government would serve the inhabitants of British Africa immensely by defining clearly its professed policy of partnership, the authors of *Attitude to Africa* make a timely contribution by suggesting the only kind of policy which can be acceptable to the Africans. A vague policy of 'independence for all colonial peoples within the Commonwealth,' they remark, 'is meaningless in relation to plural societies, because it evades the central question, independence for which community?' Similarly it is meaningless to talk about a policy of 'equal rights for all civilised men' unless you add 'with equal opportunities for all men to become civilised.' We appreciate that.

In East Africa only about 8 per cent of the African children get any schooling at all, while every European child is assured, at public expense, of full primary education. When we protest against this kind of racial discrimination the authorities retort with a characteristic reproach that we cannot distinguish between racial discrimination and racial prejudice. The authors of *Attitude to Africa* include school discrimination among those disgraceful practices in East Africa 'which encourage the African suspicion that Englishmen are hypocrites who say one thing and practise another.'

They examine various solutions for the problems of plural societies and come to the conclusion 'that there is only one satisfactory solution for East and Central Africa: the races must learn to live with each other on terms of equality, and those minorities who cannot bear this must leave...' We see no other solution either. In plural societies a feeling of equality and mutual respect is essential; in non-plural societies it is not. In India or the Gold Coast, for instance, the European might put an end to the whole drama by walking out contemptuously after handing over the reins of Government to those whom he still believes to be his inferiors. He does not have to remain there and run the humiliating risk of having to live with them under the same roof or to take orders from them. Now, in plural societies that risk is inherent, and to most proud souls it is more intolerable than the fear of economic insecurity.

# AFRICA

Lewis, the Reverend Michael Scott, Mr. Martin Wight and Mr. Colin Legum, any British Government should follow in the years ahead.' To Cecil Rhodes's opportunity for all men to become civilised.' But such a policy cannot be selves. For this reason, we asked three young men, all born in Africa though from Kenya, Mr. Abrahams a Coloured novelist from South Africa, and

I have no space to say much more about this book, but I must say a word about the important note on which the Reverend Michael Scott, one of the four authors of the book, closes the book. It is the need 'for people having a vocation for disinterested service in Africa.' It is a most important note, for Africa is in great need to-day and her greatest need is for people, both Europeans and Africans, with a crusading spirit, people who put service before self. The man or woman who goes out to Africa to make a fortune by helping the Africans is unfortunately still necessary and is doing good work, but he or she is also doing the great harm of directing the African's own attention to the fortune thus made instead of giving this whole self to the service of this people.

I wish this valuable book the greatest possible circulation, and may its readers include those who in one way or other are called upon to serve Africa.

J. Nyerere.

## \* SOUTH AFRICA

SOME fifty-one odd years ago, at the turning of the present century, W. E. B. Du Bois, American-Negro scholar and father of 'Pan-Africanism' wrote:—

'I have seen a land right merry with the sun, where children sing, and rolling hills lie like passionate women wanton with harvest. And there in the King's Highway sat and sits a figure veiled and bowed, by which the traveller's footsteps hasten as they go. On the tainted air broods fear. Three centuries' thought has been the raising and unveiling of that bowed human heart, and now behold a century new for the duty and the deed. The problem of the Twentieth Century is the problem of the colour-line—the relation of the darker to the lighter races of men in Asia and Africa, in America and the islands of the sea.'

As the authors show, Du Bois' statement still has certain validity to-day. In the Cold War between East and West, Russia represents herself as the champion of the darker races of men. And while the Union of South Africa is an honoured member among the lighter races, Russia does so with some success. There is, at the very least, uncertainty about Korea. On the one side are the lighter, on the other the darker races of men.

But the old imperialism is finished in Asia. Africa is the last great continent where its hold is still reasonably firm. Implicitly, *Attitude to Africa*, believes this will not be so for long. There is a note of urgency. The great awakening has begun. 'The rising tide of nationalism' cannot be stemmed. And there are ugly

features about it. It is emotional, based strongly on colour.

In their basis for a policy, the great problems of the plural societies of South, Central and East Africa are discussed. South Africa is embarked on its course to ultimate disaster. It is a self-governing racialist Dominion. The authors are only concerned with it in so far as it affects British policy in the neighbouring territories. For East and Central Africa they propose a clear declaration of policy. Fearing to offend either the Union, the white settlers, or the Africans, the Colonial Office has hedged on these territories. They fear the proposed Central African Federation might turn out another colour-bar State like the Union. Entrenched clauses were not effective safeguards in the case of the Union. It would be naive to think they would be in the proposed Federation. Britain must choose with whom she stands in these territories.

Britain's actions in East and Central Africa, and her attitude to South Africa, might well turn the Africans into either lasting friends or bitter enemies of the West in the troubled times that are ahead. The problem of the relation of the darker to the lighter races of men is most sharply focused there to-day. The authors have done this country, and the west generally, a great service in stating the issues involved so clearly.

Arthur Lewis' Policy for Colonial Agriculture is a major contribution on perhaps the most important single problem facing Africa.

In his signed statement, Michael Scott has some very important things to say about Britain's responsibilities in Southern Africa. Unhappily I often found his language coming between me and what he had to say. The simplicity of some of his earlier writing would have given his statement a world of added power.

*Attitude to Africa* is a significant piece of work.  
Peter Abrahams.

## CHRISTMAS 1951

Have you a friend who is interested in colonial problems? Why not give a year's subscription to *Venture* as a useful and interesting present? If you send the name and address of your friend with a postal order for 7s. 6d. to the Fabian Colonial Bureau, the Editor will be pleased to arrange for *Venture* to be posted for one year from January 1, 1952.

# DENMARK OF THE EAST?\*

JUDGING by the progress of the last six years, Ceylon is well on the way to becoming the Denmark of South-East Asia. Already, in a country of 7½m. people, 85 per cent. of whom live in the villages, there are 7,210 co-operative societies, including 3,430 consumers' societies which hold nearly 4½m. ration books. Already Ceylon has one of the best training centres in Asia, housed in adapted R.A.F. buildings and providing correspondence courses for local societies as well as residential courses for inspectors and probationers. Two officers from Sarawak were amongst its students in 1950, and the prestige of Ceylon was again demonstrated when Dato Onn paid a visit on becoming chairman of Malaya's Rural Development movement.

As in Hong Kong and the Gilbert and Ellice Islands, Ceylon's co-operative movement was given great impetus during the war. Before 1942, 75 per cent of the societies were credit co-operatives. Other fields of activity were hardly touched except by such groups as the Jaffna Malayalam Tobacco Co-operative Sale Society, whose experience from 1934 onwards in the grading, processing and marketing of tobacco proved to be of great value to the societies formed after the war.

But since 1942 the picture has changed. Indian retailers went home to India after the bombing of Colombo, and scarcity of food compelled the Government to find another channel for the distribution of rationed foods, to curb the black market and keep down the cost of living. The answer was found in the creation of retail co-operatives. These in turn required guaranteed supplies. Accordingly the Co-operative Wholesale Establishment was brought into being in 1943. The C.W.E. buys from abroad, handles the distribution of essential foods in Colombo, and distributes locally-produced fresh coconuts at subsidised prices. Last year it passed from Government control to that of a new independent Board, backed by large Government loans. A yearly conference of store societies is convened to hear the C.W.E. report. Thus the last stage before the consumer societies take over the C.W.E. as a Co-operative Wholesale Society has already been reached.

Progress in producers' marketing societies has been equally remarkable. Here the personal influence of the present Prime Minister, Mr. Senan-

yake, has been decisive, for he was himself a farmer and served as Minister of Agriculture during the war. To the need to rescue the cultivator from debt was added the urgent need to produce more food. As in the case of retail societies, the whole weight of the Government was thrown behind the deliberate use of the co-operative method in forwarding Government production policy. The Agricultural Department and the Department for Land Development assist production and sale societies with loans to enable the cultivator to increase his yield. He is helped to buy fertilisers, buffaloes, cattle, pumps, barbed wire—the hundred-and-one things for which he cannot find the money, and lack of which keeps production low. The societies also help him to market his produce, and the Food Commissioner encourages grading and efficient methods of marketing. The Government has also advanced Rs.2m. to the Co-operative Federal Bank, established in 1949, which serves as the apex of the co-operative banking structure. Indeed its whole approach has been typified by the creation in 1945 of the Department of Co-operative Development to supplement the work of the Registrar of Co-operative Societies, whose department was concerned mainly with audit and supervision.

Marked success in the producers' field has been achieved in the coconut industry, rightly called the 'processors' paradise and producers' purgatory.' Before the war the trader-creditor secured fresh nuts at one-fifth to two-fifths of the current market price, owing to the widespread indebtedness of growers. Credit societies were formed in 1941, but made little headway. The chance came with the bulk purchase agreement made with Great Britain in 1946. Over Rs.1m. was lent by the Loans and Development Fund, and a drive was made to establish mills to produce desiccated coconut. Under great difficulties, owing to shortage of machinery and the opposition of middlemen, five milling societies were formed, and producers rushed to join them. The Coconut Producers' Union now has a membership of forty societies, of which only one has not yet acquired its mill. Copra, oil, fresh nuts, and one-third of the total output of desiccated coconut, are now handled by the Union, and financial stability is at present assured. Much, however, remains to be done in the education of members and in long-term planning for other uses of coconut against the day when world demand may fall.

Of recent years there has been a great branching—  
(Continued on page 12)

\* The third in a series of factual articles on co-operative development, based on the *Administration Reports of Co-operative Societies 1945 to 1951*, Ceylon, and *Co-operation in Ceylon*, Reserve Bank of India (Agricultural Credit Department), Bombay.

# COLONIAL OPINION . . .

## THREE PLURAL SOCIETIES

### Dato Onn Appeals to Malays

On August 26, Dato Onn, leader of the new Independence for Malaya Party, resigned from the United Malays National Organisation, which he founded. In his farewell speech, he appealed to the Malays to consider the interests of the non-Malay inhabitants of Malaya:

'The aim of UMNO was to achieve independence for Malaya. That was the aim of the new party which he was to form.'

"You will find in the UMNO constitution that UMNO aims at working for the uplift of the people of Malaya. But in our attempt to uplift the people of Malaya we should pay special attention to people who really work and sweat for this country so that they will get the full benefits of their labour. Equality and justice, for which the new party will work, is demanded even by the religion of Islam."

Dato Onn said that things had changed and even the Malays had changed in their thinking. Could it be said now that UMNO represented all the people of Malaya to-day?

"Let us realise that there are non-Malays who are as loyal and patriotic as the Malays themselves. Let no one fool himself into believing that independence can be achieved by any one racial group or any section of the people."

*The Straits Budget, August 30, 1951.*

### Parity in Tanganyika

The proposal of the Tanganyika Constitutional Committee that the non-official side of the Legislative Council should consist of equal numbers of Europeans, Africans and Indians (See October Venture) has been opposed by the Tanganyika European Council, with the exception of Mr. E. F. Hitchcock, chairman of the Tanga regional committee which had voted in favour of parity. The following objections to parity were listed:

1. The standard of education of the African and his political immaturity do not warrant such a responsibility.

2. The past contribution of the Asian to territorial development and to the education of the African does not justify such an increased representation, and, except for the few, there is inadequate appreciation of responsible citizenship.

3. It does not ensure that the 21 ablest men serve on Legislative Council.

4. Equal representation of all communities at this stage in the development of the Territory would retard its progress towards a stable political and economic unit in the African continent.

5. Equal representation implies a non-European majority on the Standing Finance Committee (the financial advisory body to the Legislative Council), which would endanger stability and restrict long-term development.

6. In the present state of world unrest, it is unwise to introduce constitutional reforms which would reduce the influence of western civilisation in Tanganyika.

7. The European has been responsible for the exploration of the territory and the development of its

communications, agriculture and industry. He has started to educate the African, and he alone can continue to do so. It has been and for long can only be the European who leads and who advances the African. Equal representation would rob the European of control and of economic and political security, and, in consequence, the African of advancement.'

*East Africa and Rhodesia, November 15, 1951.*

### Representation in Guiana

In a leading article on the Report of the Waddington Commission on the constitution of British Guiana, *The Times* suggested that 'it has to be asked whether, although relations between the races in British Guiana are generally good, some limit to the number of members elected from any one race should not be imposed.' Mr. S. S. Ramphal then addressed the following letter to the editor of *The Times*:

Sir,—Your comment of October 20 on the report of the British Guiana constitutional commission raises a matter of considerable importance when it suggests that the proposed new constitution ought so far to recognise the existence of racialism in Guianese politics as to provide for a system of representation in some way related to the pattern of existing racial groups. British Guiana is a community of many races, and as in all such communities the gospel of racial separatism constitutes a very serious menace to its social and political life. It would be idle to deny that that gospel is even now being preached, but it would be equally erroneous to suggest that life in British Guiana is dominated by racial tensions.

Responsible elements in all racial groups in Guianese society are devoting their energies towards crushing the evil influence of racialism wherever it rears its ugly head; and throughout the country men and women of diverse races are working together in all the fields of social and political activity, sublimating, in the process, conflicting racial loyalties to a comprehensive and over-riding loyalty to Guiana. It is only the irresponsible and the political opportunist who attempts to retard and reverse this process and to divide the country into rabid racial camps. As the commission points out, 'race is a patent difference and is a powerful slogan ready to the hand of unscrupulous men who can use it as a stepping-stone to political power.'

It is the avowed policy of such agencies to divide: surely it is not the office of the constitution to assist in their design. To propose a system of communal representation is to grant to the cause of racial separatism the argument of constitutional validity and to concede to such elements of social disorganisation a victory which few Guianese would be prepared to accept as inevitable. To refuse to assist the force of an evil is not necessarily to ignore its potential danger: very often it is the surest method of ensuring its defeat. The commission has faced the problem with courage, and many generations of Guianese may well be grateful for the 'optimism' of their decision.

*The Times, October 26, 1951.*

# Guide to Books

## The Metropolitan Organization of British Colonial Trade

By Kathleen Stahl. (Faber and Faber. 25s.)

*The Metropolitan Organization of British Colonial Trade* is another of the series of Colonial and Comparative Studies, edited by Miss Margery Perham, to which Mrs. Stahl has already contributed *British and Soviet Colonial Systems*. In her preface Miss Perham says that 'the type of colonial enterprise which this book records is now almost everywhere on the defensive, while in some parts it is in full retreat.' While the chapters which follow do not pretend to provide material for decision on this large economic and moral issue they do at least light part of the scene. They show the sort of men whose energy brought the isolated and undeveloped tropical lands into the world of exchange, and so stimulated production and raised the standard of living. The structure of modern colonial trade was built on the initiative of individual commercial pioneers, traders and planters in tea, sugar, rubber and other commodities. Mrs. Stahl tells their story in four regions of the colonial empire—the West Indies, Malaya, Ceylon and East Africa. She tells how individual industries in those Colonies and the leading firms within them are organised, how they function, how they stand in relation to each other in those territories, and how they shape policy partly from the centre in London and partly in the Colony itself. She points out that 'colonial trade consists mainly in the export of raw materials and the import of manufactured and semi-manufactured goods. Britain holds the largest share in it, and this share in both colonial exports and imports has become an increasingly significant factor of Britain's trade, now accounting for nearly 10 per cent of the total. The Colonies are also a most valuable dollar asset, since, unlike Britain, they have a very favourable trade balance with the United States. The value of exports from the Colonies to the United States exceeds the value of those from Britain. Among dollar-earning colonial exports, the rubber and tin of Malaya take pride of place.' Mrs. Stahl shows that a high proportion of the century-old and older firms are family businesses, handed down in the same family for generations. She traces the history of organisations of colonial merchants, such as the West India Committee, which dates from 1769, the Association of British Malaya, the parent of which—the Straits Settlements Association—was founded in 1868, the Ceylon Association, founded in 1889, and the Joint East and Central African Board, founded in 1926. She points out that the West Indies for three centuries have been and still are 'sugar colonies' as this product still accounts for 50 per cent of the total value of their exports. She then records the history of the various firms engaged in West Indian trade, of which some of the most interesting are in the banana trade. Singapore was founded by the British in 1819 and made a free port, and the entrepot trade which centres upon Singapore represents the oldest British commercial activity in Malaya. But that is now surpassed in importance by the tin and rubber industries, of which the former dates from 1886 and the latter from the beginning of this century. Both have been built up by British firms of which Guthrie and Co. and Harrison and Crosfield are the most famous.

Ceylon was always one of the more prosperous colonial territories, and its prosperity still rests on its agricultural products for export—tea, rubber and coconuts, the trade in which is controlled by six firms with headquarters in the United Kingdom. These firms have 50 per cent of the import trade and 90 per cent of the export trade. East Africa is the newest of the groups of territories dealt with. Many of the British firms interested in it have been interested only since the first World War or even more recently, and many of them have interests in other parts of the Empire. London firms are not responsible to any extent for the actual production of agricultural products as they are in the other territories. The chief export products are coffee, sisal, cotton and cloves, but a variety of others figure in the export trade. Mrs. Stahl gives an interesting account of the history of the Uganda Company founded in 1903 by Sir Victor Buxton.

In the space of a review it is impossible to give more than an outline of the contents of this book, but anyone wishing detailed information on the import and export trade of these four groups of Colonies will find in *The Metropolitan Organisation of British Colonial Trade* a complete guide to study of that subject.

C. W. W. Greenidge.

## Caribbean Historical Review, No. 1

(Historical Society of Trinidad and Tobago, c/o Caribbean Commission, Port of Spain, Trinidad.)

'Long memories make great people.' If history is the recorded memory of mankind, the work of the Historical Society of Trinidad and Tobago will surely foster greatness. Dr. Eric Williams in his Editorial postulates the theme of 'the history of the people of the Caribbean, by—wherever possible—the people of the Caribbean, for the education of the people of the Caribbean.' This first issue ranges widely in space—Puerto Rico, Jamaica, Barbados, Cuba, the French West Indies, Surinam, the Windwards and Leewards figure prominently—and in time, from the eighteenth to the twentieth century.

*West Indian Confederation 1871-1885* throws light on present problems; my own interest was roused by a paper on education in bilingual countries, having encountered the problem of patois in Dominica; the story of Cudjoe and the First Maroon War is an early West Indian epic; the life of Victor Schoelcher shows how the coloured people have had their friends in Europe, friends they still have and need; the world setting of Caribbean events is studied in *Eighteenth Century Puerto Rico in Diplomacy* and *The Negro Slave Trade in Anglo-Spanish Relations*.

The quality of the articles is high. It is to be hoped that similar work will be forthcoming for future issues: one cannot rely forever on extracts from unpublished monographs already written. The preliminary survey of the Tobago archives reveals abundant sources for new work.

Sir Hubert Rance justly commends the Review in an interesting Foreword. I hope our West Indian historians will take up his reference to 'the science of History.' Some of us, with Professor Trevelyan, still think of Clio as a Muse.

H. V. Wiseman.

# FACT

## FAMILY PLANNING\* IN INDIA

The Government of India, conscious of the dangerous and growing pressure of population on India's food resources, has turned its attention to family planning. At the Government's request, the World Health Organisation is preparing an experimental birth control programme, and a W.H.O. consultant is visiting India to work out the right approach to the problem. Meanwhile, one of India's largest states, Uttar Pradesh (United Provinces) has started a drive of its own, with the blessing of its Governor and Health Minister. The details printed below are given in *India News* (10.11.51), published by the office of the High Commissioner in London:

'In July was formed the State Family Planning Committee under the chairmanship of Mr. Chandra Bhal, the U.P. Council President. This semi-official committee of about ten members has on it several doctors.

The Committee was allotted as an experimental measure by the State Government a sum of Rs.10,000 to initiate the drive. The Committee now runs five clinics in the city to tender advice on family planning and also give training in the technique of birth control. Originally only women were afforded the facilities and given the training. Now a male doctor is also attached to the clinics. A check-up of the attendance at these clinics shows the appreciable response to the drive. It is understood almost all Dufferin hospitals in the State have now begun to take interest in the drive.

As a prelude to activating the work a report on the Committee's activities so far has been submitted to the Government by the Secretary.

The Government is also engaged in preparing literature on the subject of family planning, and the work is expected to be finished in about a month. It will be divided into two parts. One will deal with the ethics and the necessity of family planning. The question whether religion is opposed to birth control will be thrashed out. The second part will deal exhaustively with the actual methods of birth control, and the degree to which they can

be efficacious. The work will stress on spacing of births rather than on total birth control.

The Indian Conference of Social Work, U.P. Branch, has also taken interest in the subject. Its working committee at a meeting here recently decided to undertake a door-to-door study of social welfare agencies in Lucknow City and follow it up by a similar study in all towns, to start experimental work on family planning in a selected village near Lucknow through the help of a midwife suitably trained for the work, to publish articles on the findings of social studies made by universities and other agencies, and later to circulate the findings in mimeographed forms so as to focus attention of the public and the Government on existing social problems in the State.

## LABOUR ADVANCES

We report below advances in workers' conditions in two small islands, both achieved by sustained trade union work through the normal channels of collective bargaining in territories where trade union organisation has been an uphill job:

### BARBADOS

The Information Bulletin of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions reported (Nov. 11, 1951) an agreement between the Barbados Workers' Union and the Sugar Producers' Federation. It includes wage increases and a guaranteed 19 per cent increase in production bonuses for the 1951 season. In addition, the Workers' Welfare Fund will this year receive \$5.40 per ton of sugar instead of \$2.40 as previously. The agreement is regarded as a major step forward.

### MAURITIUS

In August the Secretaries of the Official and Staff Sides of the Central Whitley Council announced the confirmation of agreements on a number of matters, including: Use of Government printing facilities by staff associations; supply of official circulars to staff associations and consultation of staff associations before amendment to them; delays in answering correspondence from staff associations; constitution of staff boards (except Governor's prior approval of all appointments); separate provision for Whitley Council expenditure in the estimates.

\* See *Venture*, September and November, 1951.

## CORRESPONDENCE

### The Foreign Firms

Sir,—Mr. Castens, in his letter published in your issue of April, 1951, has emphasised how little self-government can mean in a Colony unless the 'independent' government really controls the country's economic resources. A sovereign government must determine the pattern of capital investment, and this is impossible so long as, in Mr. Castens' words, 'the whole of the export surplus is used to pay the profits' of the foreign companies. It is not sufficient merely to limit the amounts that can be taken out of the country by such companies, since, while they re-invest some of their profits within the country they and not the government concerned determine the direction of economic development—in fact they extend their particular enterprises whether or not these should have priority in the national interest. It is not even sufficient to tax the profits of the companies, since these may be nominal where, for example, the U.A.C. is merely a part of a much larger whole, and where, through lowering its selling prices the U.A.C. on the Gold Coast could eliminate its profits while leaving the total profits of Unilever unchanged.

The size of the export surplus earned by the Gold Coast in 1950—£30 millions—is impressive when we remember that the sums made available for development for the entire British Commonwealth under the Colonial Development and Welfare Act and the Overseas Resources Act amount to no more than £42 millions a year over a ten-year period. Moreover the Gold Coast has earned an export surplus in every post-war year except 1949, when there was a very small import surplus.

The only way in which a West African Government can secure control over its country's economic life is, ultimately, by nationalising all foreign-owned enterprises. As a transitional step, if political or other considerations were not considered suitable for all out nationalisation, the foreign companies could be made to act as agents for the government—reversing the traditional rôles. With the government in control of marketing boards selling to foreign firms at *government determined prices*, with the profits of these companies thus controlled and suitably taxed, export proceeds would for the first time become available for such development as the nation, and not the foreign firms, believed desirable.

Such steps would, however, be insufficient unless the national government obtained control over the country's imports, either through state import boards or through control of licences to private importers or through a combination of both. Then the puzzle over what to do with the surpluses of the marketing boards might really be solved. Such funds as were not used for capital development or services could be used to develop an

internal market (e.g., by paying higher prices to cocoa growers) for the output of an expanding native industry. It is paradoxical that while industrial development in Africa is often frustrated for lack of internal markets, there is reluctance to expand internal markets for fear of inflation!

It would be foolish to suggest that the achievement of economic independence by African governments lacking trained personnel will be simple. It will not. Nor, for that matter, will the achievement of political independence. What I wish to assert, emphatically, is that nationalist movements such as the C.P.P. must develop economic policies along new lines, that such policies are unthinkable without struggle against the foreign firms and that only through such struggle will African nationalists develop the strength and maturity to solve their problems.

Yours faithfully,  
The Lea, Barlaston, Stoke-on-Trent. Henry Collins.

(Continued from page 8)

out into all kinds of co-operative projects, such as dairies, hospitals, cottage industries, transport and journalism. There are even school co-operatives to help poor children to buy books and stationery almost at cost price, and to provide catering services, textiles and toys. A notable example is the Pitigalkorale multi-purpose society which started in 1942 with 80 members. It now has 23 branches with nearly 4,000 members, and supplies over 17,000 consumers. During a shortage of chillies, the society cleared five acres to grow them, and then branched out into production of plantains. It has built a reserve store, a textile shop, a bakery, a bookshop, and a rice mill, and provides its members with electricity and a bus. It has helped Government to establish a central school.

There are many fields still to be conquered on co-operative lines, such as house-building, processing of tea and rubber, irrigation works in the newly-opened jungle areas, and co-operative farming. But in nine years Ceylon has achieved so much that there is every hope for the future. In this it is in line with the aspirations of the new Governments of Burma and Indonesia, both of which have prepared detailed plans for co-operative development.

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